

1: Karsten--510

116, 751, 515

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"....Indian hygiene is very defective, although it is evident that these children of nature generally have much more resistance against infecting microbes than a white man. In certain other respects, on the other hand, they give evidence of a natural hygiene which may serve even civilized people as an example. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, like all forest Indians in the Amazon region, are cleanly. Thus both men, women, and children take a bath every day in the little river on the banks of which their home is situated, but frequently they bathe twice a day. All dirt and waste is carefully removed from the house by daily sweeping, nor are any dirt or refuse heaps tolerated in the neighbourhood of it. Superstition itself has in some cases tended to develop the hygienic sense of the Indians. On this point I beg to refer to the fact that after a death all those clothes, eating plates, etc., which have been in intimate contact with the defunct are destroyed by burning and that, in the case of an epidemic, the whole village is destroyed and abandoned by its inhabitants."

4: Up de Graff--197
515, 356

(1897) 1923

Jivaro

"After inspecting their huts, we decided that a small island which lay opposite the settlement would suit us better. It was not that their houses were vermin-ridden. On the contrary, like all naked savages who live in the tropics, they are kept far cleaner than those who have to go clothed, by their frequent immersions in the rivers and by the cleansing action of the sun and rain on their skins."

The hygienic operation finished [KS: morning infusion of guayusa], everyone washes, for the Jívaro is clean, contrary to his brother of the sierra. As soon as he returns from the neighboring river, he makes his toilette in the house itself; he has the custom of putting water in his mouth, from which he spits it into his hands in order to wash his face and wet his hair; then he combs it carefully, for he likes to have his hair well-arranged and shiny. Then, while the women are preparing breakfast, he sets to work, either at the weaving of a garment, or the manufacture of his ornaments or his arms. At the end of about an hour the repast is ready: there are abundant piningas of chicha, some manioc and boiled bananas, and a piece of wild pig or of fish. After having [601] refreshed himself sufficiently, the Jívaro paints his body and his teeth, puts on his customary ornaments, takes his lance, his blowgun or his gun, his little net, unties his dogs and for 4 1/2 or 5 hours in the morning hunts or goes to visit his friends in the neighborhood, during which time the women take their wicker back-baskets and armed with a little machete or a knife cultivate the surrounding land.

At 6 o'clock in the evening the Indian has always returned; one never meets him at night, normally. As soon as he gets back, his wives come in turn to present him with a bowl of chicha, which they stir with their hands before offering, and while the master drinks, they turn their heads, either because of respect, or out of habit.

The Indians are very cleanly; they bathe frequently. When it comes to bathing and to body-culture in general, the men surpass the women. When we approached an inhabited settlement on our canoe voyages, our crew would stop a little before in order to take a bath and to comb their beautiful long hair or to make up their faces by drawing a few dots or lines with achiote.

When bathing, the Indians dispose of their loin cloth (itipe). With a short piece of string they tie up the prepuce in front of the glans. In isolated cases I noticed that the Indians tied the penis string to a stronger waist string, an operation which pulled the penis upward. The waist string is also used to fasten the loin cloth. According to information received from the whites, the tying-up of the prepuce is motivated by the fact that a small fish (carnero) may be found at certain points of the Marañón River and its tributaries; this carnero is said to enter the urinary tract, thereby causing painful inflammations. If there was a sudden downpouring of rain during our canoe voyages, the Indians used to store the itipe in a waterproof basket and afterward tie up the prepuce.

I have been unable to observe whether the Indians stick to a certain timetable when they take their meals. The few times we visited one of their tambos, we were always served cold food out of one of the numerous pots. They seem to be familiar with the technique of "cooking in advance." Liquid food, for instance, a sort of soup, was served in shallow bowls (pinínges), and solid food was served on the large leaf of a plant, always accompanied by a small piece of salt. In one instance I found in the soup the coarsely cut leaves of the yucca plant: they were boiled with the soup. Liquid stuff is drunk directly out of the bowl. Solid food is brought to the mouth with the hands.

In their tambos they always keep pots with water. I have seen these pots hanging from the ceiling on a thick rope or placed on a trifurcated post that was rammed into the dirt. After each meal the Indian takes a mouthful of this water, rinses his mouth with it and forcefully squirts it over his hands.

26: BrÜning--71 [2]

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

116, 515

An Indian who blows his nose grabs the lower part of his nose with thumb and forefinger and blows his nose into the palm of his hand. The mucus is then thrown off, and the hand is cleaned on any object, sometimes even without preceding disposal of the mucus. But I have never seen that an Indian wiped his hand on a piece of clothing.

/331 cont./

354 almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of
 [825] the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes,
 342 which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the
 [353] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in
 which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in
 the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bed-
 352 rooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch
 342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night,
 are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual
 bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and
 open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells,
 [353] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each
 person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of
 which is hung his private property, in the case of women cos-
 metic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully
 342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such
 356 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is
 maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily
 and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a
 way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and
 tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean.
 When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women
 came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the
 houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and
 cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in
 all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well
 seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has
 languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for
 years.

- 515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury
 in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than
 among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes
 in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing
 291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two
 and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is
 usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human
 hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
 273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
 [271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
 [515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
 [484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash
 when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
 415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
 [462] food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
 [251] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
 [226] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
 [296] personal effects. Matting is unknown.

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
 439 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
 [177] chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the
 guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent
 manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwell-
 ing in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-
 action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
 [438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly
 valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading
 partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges
 224 from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
 411 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-
 loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
 438 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for
 [224] hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the
 tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native
 trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

SOCIAL RELATIONS

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[605]

When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yači*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

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[261]

Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

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When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yači*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

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[605]

Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins